A black and white photograph of Fidel Castro, the Prime Minister of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, speaking at a podium. He is shown from the chest up, wearing a dark jacket, and is looking slightly to his right. His left hand is resting on the podium. The background is dark and out of focus. Overlaid on the right side of the image is a large, bold, white text block.

**Division in
the face of the
enemy was
never a
revolutionary
or intelligent
strategy**

Speech delivered by the Prime Minister of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, Major Fidel Castro, at the University of Havana, on March 13, 1965.

Speech delivered by
Major Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of
the Cuban Revolutionary Government
and First Secretary of the
National Directorate of the PURSC,
at the University of Havana,
on March 13, 1965, on the occasion
of the 8th anniversary of the attack
to the Presidential Palace.

Comrade professors and students from other centers of study who are present here:

Today is the Eighth anniversary of the 13th of March, and the Sixth anniversary of its commemoration, the sixth meeting to commemorate the date that we have held on this stairway of the University. It has become a tradition, a duty for all, for the comrades of the revolution and the University students.

With the years certain changes have been taking place in the University, changes that are reflected in the composition of our students. The first year, almost all who met here had been comrades of José Antonio Echeverría, comrades of all those who fought on that day, many of them active participants in the struggle of the University students against the Batista regime.

After six years many of those students have graduated, many are already working on different fronts of the Revolution. Naturally, the student ranks and the University stairway are full today of younger comrades who have been entering the University during these years. Many young faces can be seen among the students here tonight.

I said to the comrades: "The students here seem very young to me—are they university students?" And they told me, yes, that they were university students except some two thousand exemplary students from pre-university and secondary schools. (An interruption—"technical students too") But don't you consider yourselves pre-university students—so why do you protest? And there are also a number of students from the Teachers Institute here.

Comrade Armando (Hart, Minister of Education,) took advantage of my question to say somewhat ironically that we don't take into account that it is no longer our contemporaries who are here in the university. And I said unfortunately, that's right.

The really important thing is that we do not lose our youthful spirit and that the young people do not lose the revolutionary spirit. I think this is the point where we

must always meet, without regard to age. The memory of the struggles of our people must not become academic, must never become cold history. Because the continuity of the struggle has not ended and we are far from being able to say that the revolutionary struggle of our people has ended, far from being able to say that our youth does not face great tasks and must make great efforts.

That is why this deep link of affection between the first revolutionary wave and the second and all succeeding revolutionary waves is not lost. Every day like March 13th means a peak, a bright day in the history of our country. We recall these dates to redouble our impetus, our struggle.

But the history of a country, its victories and advances are written every day, in daily effort and daily work; they are written not in the heroism of one day but in the heroism of every day, not in the duty fulfilled as an exception, on one day, but in duty fulfilled every day.

Today the history of our country is being written in the canefields, in factories, in study centers, in the stubborn and unselfish work, often anonymous, of thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of our men and women.

It is being written by the teachers in the mountains, by the physicians saving lives in the most isolated areas of the country, by farmers working on rough ground where there are scarcely the most elemental comforts of civilization; it is being written by soldiers at danger points or facing the enemy, who stand guard to defend their revolution; by the workers in sugar mills producing millions of tons of sugar, by the hundreds of thousands of men from the cities and countryside, sweating, machete stroke after machete stroke to cut the cane that produces the tons of sugar that we Cubans all proclaim with pride as victories of our economy.

History is being written today in study, in classrooms, in the long hours that we devote to analyzing, investigating, under-

standing, learning, untangling. The history of our country is being written today in persevering, hard work and in the readiness that is always present, unchanging, to defend this work, defend the fruits of our work.

In this way the history of our country is being written today and continues to be written and will continue to be written for a long time. And no young person will have to feel regret at not having been older when this struggle began. No young person will have to feel regret or harbor the idea that he will arrive late for this struggle.

I remember the first days of the victory of the Revolution; I remember how many men and women greeted with extraordinary enthusiasm the rebel fighters. Perhaps among those who acclaimed the victorious columns of the rebel army there were many workers who, a few months later, while unloading a ship carrying weapons would die in that terrible explosion, the result of enemy sabotage. And in the ranks of the people were many who later would fall fighting the mercenaries at Playa Giron; and there were, without doubt, young people like Manuel Ascunce, like Delfín Sen, like Conrado Benítez, who later, in the noble, humane task of teaching our country people would lose their lives, vilely assassinated by counterrevolutionary gangs.

In the ranks of the people were the men who in countless acts of heroism and sacrifice have defended the revolution on different fronts and have sacrificed their lives. There were many heroes and martyrs in the ranks of the people who have made possible the triumphs and successes of the revolution, made possible the survival of the Revolution against its enemies.

And the Revolution still has much to do. It still has a great deal to do. The Revolution has powerful enemies, and in first place, one powerful enemy, Yankee imperialism. This enemy threatens us and will threaten us for some time to come. This enemy will not easily resign itself—although it has no alternative—to the revolutionary

successes of our people. This enemy, not here, but thousands of miles from here, is attacking other countries as it is criminally attacking the people of North Viet Nam and the revolutionary people of South Viet Nam.

This enemy is intervening in the Congo. It sends its ships, its marines and its planes to any corner of the world. It takes advantage of divisions among the revolutionaries, of the lamentable divisions that exist in the socialist camp. Unfortunately they calculate, analyze, and take advantage of everything that can weaken the revolutionary front.

That is to say that circumstances exist that involve dangers for us all, for us and for other nations in other parts of the world that fight for their independence and freedom. Dangers are not lacking.

I am not going to speak at length about the problems related to the differences and divisions in the socialist camp. We don't even know when we may have to speak of this at length, because the problem is not to speak for the sake of speaking; the problem is to speak in order to say something, the problem now is to speak when, by speaking or talking or saying something, there is a positive and useful result and not a result that is positive and useful only to imperialism and the enemies of the peoples.

We'd rather not have to face such bitter circumstances. As far as talk is concerned, enough and more than enough has been said already. As far as division is concerned, unfortunately, enough and more than is necessary has been said, more than suits the interests of the peoples and what, unfortunately, is useful to the interests of the enemies of the peoples.

But for us, small countries, that do not base ourselves on the strength of armies of millions of men, or on the strength of atomic power, small countries like Viet Nam and Cuba, we have enough instinct to see with serenity and to understand that these divisions and differences that weaken the strength of the socialist camp hurt, no one more than us who are in special situations:

here, ninety miles from the Yankee empire; there, attacked by Yankee planes.

Here it's not a question of analyzing the problems under dispute theoretically or philosophically, but of recognizing the great truth: that in the face of an enemy that attacks, in the face of an enemy that becomes more and more aggressive, there is no justification for division; division doesn't make sense, there is no reason for division.

And at any time in history, at any period of mankind, since the first revolutionary appeared in the world, since revolutions became social phenomena in which the masses acted instinctively, until the time revolutions were made consciously, became tasks and phenomena fully understood by the people,—which took place when Marxism arose—division in the face of the enemy was never a correct strategy, it was never revolutionary strategy, was never intelligent strategy.

And in this revolutionary process we have all from the beginning, been educated in the idea that everything that divides weakens, that everything that separates us, is bad; is bad for our people and good for imperialism.

And the mass of our people understood the need for unity from the first moment and unity became an essential question for the revolution, unity became the cry of the masses, unity became a slogan of the whole people.

And we ask ourselves whether imperialism has disappeared; we ask ourselves if the imperialists are not attacking North Viet Nam; we ask ourselves whether in North Viet Nam men and women of the people are not dying.

And who can be made to think or to believe that division is proper or useful? Perhaps it's not seen that the imperialists are advancing in North Viet Nam? Perhaps it's not seen that the tactic the imperialists are following there is to smash the revolutionary movement in South Viet Nam, attacking North Viet Nam first under the pretext

of the attacks being in reprisal, later arrogating to themselves the right to attack whenever they want to, and continuing to use masses of planes against the fighters of South Viet Nam?

What is the situation at this moment? The imperialists are talking about a naval blockade, landing their marines in South Viet Nam, sending aircraft carriers, mobilizing masses of planes to smash the revolutionary movement in South Viet Nam; to attack, with every available means of war, the guerrillas in South Viet Nam, reserving the right to attack North Viet Nam whenever it seems best to them, carrying on this kind of aerial war, without any sacrifice on their part, bombing with hundreds of planes and even sending their helicopters to rescue the pilots of the downed planes.

Doubtless the imperialists want a comfortable kind of struggle! Doubtless the imperialists want a kind of war with only industrial losses! That is—"so many planes lost". Doubtless the people of South Viet Nam and of North Viet Nam suffer all this! And suffer it in their own flesh because there are men and women there who die, in South Viet Nam and in North Viet Nam, victims of the US strafing and victims of the US bombing.

And they don't hesitate in the least to declare that they propose to continue all that because even the attacks on North Viet Nam have not had the effect of overcoming the divisions within the socialist family. And who doubts that this division encourages the imperialists? Who doubts that to face the enemy with a united front would make them hesitate, make them pause and think before launching their adventurous attacks and their barefaced intervention in that part of the world? Who is to be convinced of this? With what reason, with what logic? And who benefit from this? The imperialists! And who are the victims? The Vietnamese! and what suffers? The prestige of socialism, the prestige of the international communist movement, of the international revolutionary movement! And this truly

hurts us! Because for us the liberation movement is not a demagogic word but a slogan that we have always felt deeply!

Because we are a small country that does not aspire to become the navel of the world; because we are a small country that does not aspire to become the revolutionary centre of the world. And when we speak of these problems, we speak with absolute sincerity and we speak disinterestedly. We did not win revolutionary power in bourgeois elections but fighting weapons in hand; we speak in the name of a people who for six years irrevocably and unhesitatingly resisted the ambushes and the threats of imperialism.

We speak in the name of a people who for the sake of the strength of the revolutionary movement, for the sake of the strength of the socialist camp, for the sake of the firmness and the determination to defend the revolution against the imperialists, did not hesitate. A people who did not hesitate to risk the danger of thermonuclear war, of a nuclear attack, when in our country and on our territory—with the full and absolute right that we have never abjured, an absolutely legitimate act that we will never regret—we agreed to the installation of thermonuclear strategic missiles on our territory. And, not only did we agree that they should be brought here but we disagreed that they should be taken away. And I think that this is no secret for anyone.

We are a country and a nation in whose name I speak that receives no Yankee credits, or Food for Peace, and we haven't the slightest relation with the imperialists. That is, that in the matter of revolutionary conviction and sincerity no one taught us anything, no one taught us anything, just as no one taught our liberators of 1895 and 1868, the path of independence and of dignity. We are the people of the First and Second Declarations of Havana which we didn't copy from any document but which were the pure expression of the spirit of

our people, deeply revolutionary and highly internationalist.

As this has been the feeling and the thinking of our revolution, proved as often as was necessary, proved without hesitation of any kind, without yielding in any way, without contradictions of any type, we have the right to ask—as many other peoples must ask—who benefits from these disagreements if not our enemies?

And of course we have full right, the full and absolute right, that I don't think anyone will dare to question, to proscribe such dissensions and such Byzantine battles from our country and our people.

And it should be known that it is our Party who directs the propaganda here, that it is our Party who gives guidance here, that this is a question that comes under our jurisdiction! And if we don't want the apple of discord to come here, because we simply don't want it here, then no-one can smuggle it in. Our enemies, our only enemies, are the Yankee imperialists. Our only insuperable contradiction is with Yankee imperialism. The only enemy against whom we are ready to break our lances, is imperialism.

As far as anything else is concerned, we don't understand any other language, we don't understand the language of division. Before the concrete case of a country attacked by imperialism, like Viet Nam, we have one position. We don't act, as perhaps some think, as perhaps above all the imperialists think, on the basis of "when you see your neighbor's house on fire, you throw water on your own roof"—in reality, the way we act is, when we see our neighbor's house on fire, we want to share this difficulty.

We are not people to be frightened by these events; rather we are kindled to action by them. And we have one position. We are in favor of giving Viet Nam all the aid that may be necessary, we are in favor of this aid being arms and men, we are in favor of the socialist camp running the risks that may be necessary for Viet Nam.

We are quite aware of the fact that in case of any serious international complication we will be one of the first targets of imperialism, but this does not worry us and has never worried us. And we don't keep quiet or act like simpletons in order that our lives be spared.

This is, in all frankness and all sincerity, our reasoned, dispassionate stand, emanating from our legitimate and inviolable right to take measures and to act in the way we believe most correct and most revolutionary and let no one harbor the illusion that they can give us lessons on revolution.

I hope that errors of underestimation be not made, ignoring the peculiarities of our people because Yankee imperialism has committed lots of errors of this kind. One of its characteristics was disdain for others, disdain for and underestimation of small nations. And imperialism has committed great colossal errors of underestimation in respect to our revolutionary people. It would be regrettable if others committed similar errors. Our sincere policy has been, and is that of uniting, because we are not and will never be satellites of anyone. And in this whole problem we have taken a very dispassionate, very honest and very sincere position.

This is not the time to go through papers and files. I believe that as long as we have imperialism in front of us, attacking, it would be ridiculous for us here to do as in the fable, argue whether they are greyhounds or hound dogs, whether they are made of paper or of iron.

Let us leave the papers and files and documents to history, let history be the one to say who acted well or badly, to say who was right and who was wrong, let history show what each thought, what each did, what each said—but let it be history. Because it would be humiliating to wash dirty linen in front of our enemies, enemies who are attacking, and who are attacking not the most powerful but the smallest and weakest.

We have many things to do. We have

ahead of us many very difficult, very hard tasks. - Millions of tons of sugar to be cut to defeat the imperialist blockade, and they are not cut with papers, but with toil, with sweat, with the machete.

The dangers that lie in wait for us are great, but they are not fought with Byzantine disagreements and academic charlatanism. No, they are fought with revolutionary firmness, revolutionary integrity, the readiness to fight. The imperialist enemy is not fought effectively anywhere in the world when revolutionaries are divided, insulting each other, and attacking each other, but only with unity and cohesion in the revolutionary ranks. And to those who may not believe that this is the correct tactic for the international communist movement, we say, that for us here on our small island, on our territory, in a front-line trench ninety miles from the imperialists, it is the correct tactic. And we will adjust our line and our conduct to this way of thinking.

I believe that we honour our dead comrades, that we honor those who have fallen, from the first to the last one, in a worthy way, because this revolution was born out of the rebellious spirit of a whole people, out of the progressive and revolutionary spirit of a whole nation, out of the dignity of a whole people, because this struggle which today is inter-laced and entwined with the struggle of other peoples of the world against imperialism, began almost a century ago. It began with the first men who took up arms against colonialism and against the exploitation of our country, and it has followed this course, followed this line, and our people have never abandoned this line, never betrayed it. They have followed this firm and clear line. That is their spirit, that is their tradition.

On this path all the worthy men of this land have come together and in the long struggle many good men of this land have died. The first were not Marxist-Leninists. Carlos Manuel de Céspedes was not, Martí was not, because in the time in which he lived, and under the historic conditions in

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which he developed his magnificent struggle, he could not be alone. In those days we would have been like them, today they would have been like us, because what was decisive in each period was the revolutionary spirit of our people, the task of our people at each moment. And what can be said is this, that from that time until now the road has been long and the evolution of our revolutionary thinking has been long. At the beginning of the second half of the past century it was not the tasks of the proletarian revolution that were raised in our country, it was fight for independence against the Spanish colonial power.

And this independence came to life at a time when a much greater and more to be feared power arose—Yankee imperialism. The struggle against this power became the great historic task of our nation. To win independence from this power, to resist its attacks, and to keep high the banner of the revolution, became the great task of our nation in this century. This became the great task of our people, coinciding with similar tasks of other peoples on this same continent and in Africa and Asia and Oceania, wherever people are struggling with increasing determination against colonialism and against imperialism.

There has always been one sole path and one revolutionary line. Many heroes, many patriots, many martyrs have followed this path and this line. And those who have carried this banner forward, those who have followed this line, represent the will of all and are under obligation not only to present and future generations, but also to the past generations that took part in the struggle.

And so on a day like today when we remember those who have died, we think that there is only one sense, that there is essentially only one idea, which consoles and compensates absolutely, and that is that the men who have fallen, the men who have died, did not die in vain.

Other times, in other periods, from this same stairway, the memory of the dead was

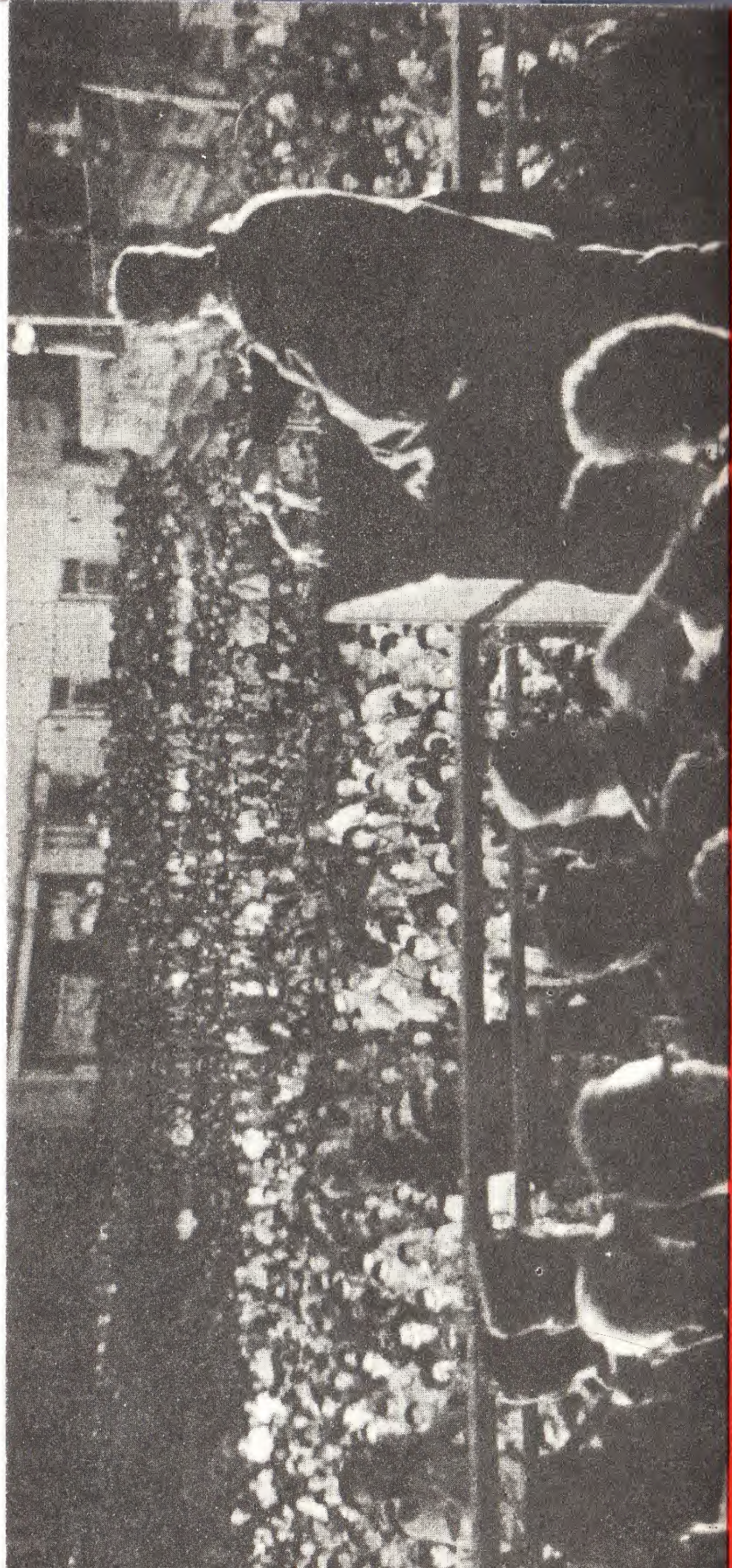
recalled, but with sadness, with pain, with despair under the insupportable idea that those sacrifices had not yet born fruit. When at a time like this, in circumstances like these, on a day like today, we recall those comrades, all symbolized in the name "José Antonio Echeverría" we have the consoling idea, the tranquility and the satisfaction of knowing that their sacrifice was not in vain.

In the progress of our revolution, in the ascendant march of our people on the road of history, on the road of revolutionary thinking, on the road of the extraordinary evolution of our ideas, the men who fought for this, the men who sacrificed for this, take on flesh and blood.

And you, the young people of today, must feel yourselves the followers of those men, the standard bearers of those men, those who have taken up their banner, who continue the advance, who are marching forward on the ascendant road of our people, in the glorious history of our country.

You are the new revolutionary wave and we are sure that you will know how to act and that you will be worthy standard bearers of José Antonio Echeverría and his comrades.

HOMELAND OR DEATH! WE WILL WIN!



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